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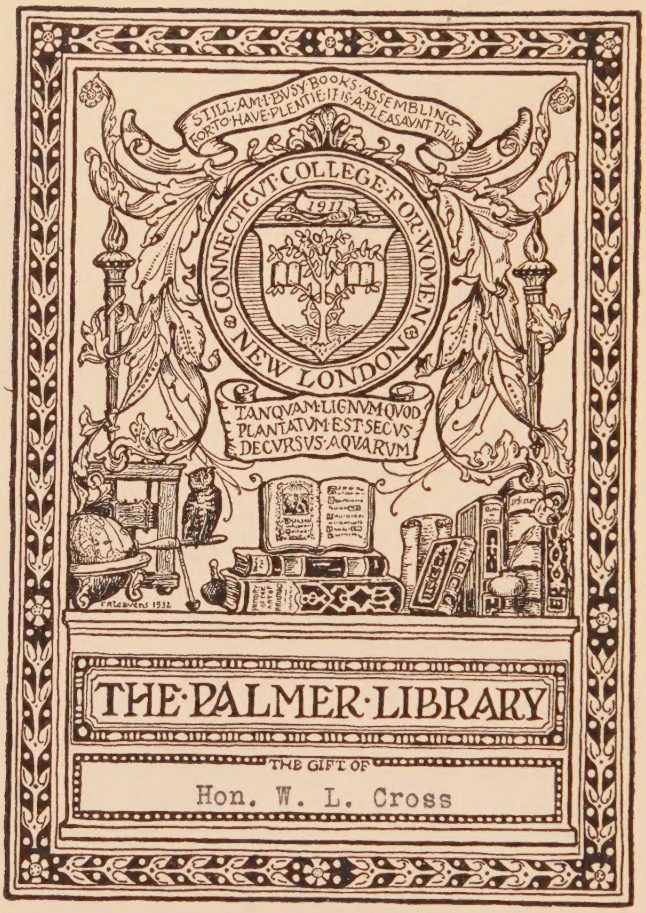
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ROBERT GROSSETESTE AND THE JEWS

Robert Grosseteste
and the Jews

By

Lee M. Friedman

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Robert Grosseteste and the Jews

"Y shall you tell as I have herd
Of the bishop seynt Roberd
His toname is Grostete,
Of lyncolne, so seyth the Geste." [1]

AN amateur like myself should apologize for daring to offer so slight a contribution to the fame of so great a man as the illustrious Bishop of Lincoln. My interest in Jewish history, my researches into which unexpectedly led me to his gigantic figure, is my excuse.

Becoming acquainted with Robert Grosseteste has been an exciting experience. Having acquired a beautiful manuscript copy of his "*De Cessatione Legalium*," I found a surprising panorama of thirteenth-century England rapidly unfolding itself for my investigation. The history of the Jews of England in Angevin days from the time when, at the invitation of William the Conqueror, they crossed from Normandy to help develop the trade of a rural and insular England until in 1290, amid bloodshed and suffering, they were banished by Edward I, is well known. In England they found a tranquil haven from the continental persecutions. Although most of them had come from France, some had drifted in from Germany, Spain, Italy, and even far-away Russia and Turkey. On the whole, they prospered. In contrast with the condition of the Jews in Europe that of the English Jews was enviable, and so remained up to the time of the reign of terror created by the crusading enthusiasm of the later thirteenth century and by the epidemic of blood accusations which began with that at Norwich in 1144.

It is curious and interesting history which lies behind the

recrudescence just at this time in the Bishopric of Norwich of the ancient superstition that, out of hatred against Christianity and with cruel ritual ceremonies, Jews crucify Christian children at the time of their Passover celebration.[2] The legend had been dormant for centuries since it was first recorded by the Alexandrine grammarian Apion in the first half of the first century A.D.,[3] and later repeated by the fifth-century historian Socrates as a contemporary happening in Syria.[4] This blood accusation had played no important part in Jewish history until its revival at Norwich. After 1144 until the famous Beilis trial in Russia in 1912, however, it has been a real factor in Jewish persecutions. The alleged martyrdom of the child William, and the establishment of a popular shrine in his honor, brought such great prosperity to Norwich cathedral that rival sees were strongly tempted to imitate it. A regular epidemic of these blood accusations spread through England; at Gloucester in 1168, at Bury St. Edmunds in 1181, in 1192 at Winchester, and, most famous of all, the case of little St. Hugh of Lincoln in 1256, which has become part of English literature in Chaucer's Prioresse's Tale.[5]

In two sections of the Great Charter the Jews of this period have left a curious historical reminder of the one hundred and thirty-five years of their English sojourn. According to English law the King succeeded to the estate of which any Jew died possessed. Unrestrained by fear or by the force of public opinion, the King, as the Jew's heir, proved a much more efficient collector of the loans, mortgages, and pledges which he thus inherited than the deceased Jew had ever been. So the Magna Charta provided:

"If one who has borrowed from the Jews any sum, great or small, die before that loan be repaid, the debt shall not bear in-

Petri Le Neve
Norroy

terest while the heir is under age, of whomsoever he may hold; and if the debt fall into our hands, we will not take anything except the principal sum contained in the bond."

"And if anyone die indebted to the Jews, his wife shall have her dower and pay nothing of that debt; and if any children of the deceased are left under age, necessaries shall be provided for them in keeping with the holding of the deceased; and out of the residue the debt shall be paid, reserving, however, service due to feudal lords; in like manner let it be done touching debts due to others than Jews."

In the economic development of the Church and of the Kingdom of England, the Jews played a part out of all proportion to their numbers. From the frequent references to them in the ancient chronicles it is plain that they held a larger place in the thoughts of the churchmen than their importance justified. Perhaps this interest is to be explained by the fact that many Norman English churches and abbeys were erected on money borrowed from the Jews, who, when the day of payment came, presented to the holy brethren the aspect of bothersome heathens and hateful usurers.

Grosseteste's lifetime (1175–1253) covers the most eventful years of this period of Anglo-Jewish history. It was natural that one who, as we shall see, was in his youth thrown into direct contact with Jews should become interested in them. And it is impressive that a man so busy with the many intricate and anxious problems of his church and of his state should have devoted so much attention to the perplexing Jewish enigma. It is one of many instances of his greatness and of the breadth of his understanding and humanity.

Unfortunately, in so short a brochure as this no adequate idea can be given of the attractiveness of Grosseteste's personality

as it shines through the staid narrative of the ancient chroniclers. In spite of all his strenuous activities and of his serious, scholarly attainments, he ever preserved a sense of humor and a zest for living. Think of this sage's laying down as a rule of life that "three things are needful to keep one in bodily health—food, sleep, and a joke," and ponder also the anecdote of his imposing on an erring, crabbed priest as a penance that he drink a tankard full of the best wine, adding the injunction, "My dear brother, if you were given such a penance frequently, you would of a surety have a better conscience."[6]

Grosseteste cleverly averted the threat to the English churches when in the parliament of 1252 the King backed the demand of the Pope for a new and special levy of a tenth of its revenue in aid of a proposed crusade. The King of France had already assented to such an assessment. Aethelman, brother of King Henry III, and bishop-elect of Winchester, in reply to Grosseteste, who opposed the measure, asked:

"Father, how can we resist the will of the Pope and of the King? The one drives us, the other drags us. In this strait the French agreed to a like contribution, in order to assist the King in his pilgrimage. They are stronger than we, and by habit more ready for resistance. And we, what strength have we for resistance?"

To which Grosseteste replied: "For the very reason that the French contributed must we resist. For the repetition of an act creates a custom."[7]

The Bishop has been described as "polite and courtly." It is related that Henry III once asked him how one of such humble birth could teach the young nobility so well, and he answered that he had learned the art in greater courts than that of the king of England, namely, in his books of history. He had trav-

eled much; his table was famous for its food and for its conversation, and his good-fellowship was proverbial.[8]

He lovede moche to here the harpe,
For mans witte yt makyth sharpe;
Next hys chamber was fast the by.
Many tymes, by nightes and dayes,
He hadd solace of notes and layes.
One askede hem the resun why
He hadde delyte in mynstrelsey:
He answerde hym on thys mannere
Why he helde the harpe so dere:
"The virtu of the harpe, thurgh skyle and ryght
Wyll destrye the fendys myght;
And to the cros by gode skeyl
Ys the harpe lykened weyl."[9]

II

OUT of the thirteenth century the long-forgotten figure of Robert Grosseteste casts a shadow now so dim that the superlatives in which his contemporaries always referred to him seem grotesque. So deep was the reverence for his learning and wisdom, so tremendous was his hold on the popular imagination, and so real an affection was inspired by his far-flung activities, that long after his death legends repeated by the early chroniclers constantly described him as a saint, and fantastic, miraculous tales gathered about his memory. It is indicative of the place that he held both in the minds and in the hearts of his countrymen that more than fifty years after his death (1314) Bishop Dalderby granted forty days' indulgence to those who made a pilgrimage to worship at his tomb, which had become a popular shrine.[10]

Living as he did at a period when, as the chronicler says, "the small fire of faith began to grow exceedingly chill so that it was nigh well reduced to ashes and scarce shewed a spark,"[11] Grosseteste opposed the secularizing spirit that was then rapidly invading the Church and attempting to control its wealth and wide estates for selfish ends.

He was elected Bishop of Lincoln in 1235, when that important and rich see extended from the Thames to the Humber and comprised a sixth of the English state. Long before the Reformation, with steadfast determination to uproot abuses, he instituted and carried through many ecclesiastical reforms. He established in England a bishop's visitorial and correctional authority over the clergy and church establishments within his jurisdiction. He was insistent that the clergy should be learned and spiritual,[12] and was vigorous and constant in his attempts

to raise their moral tone and to improve their efficiency. He was one of the first to preach to the laity in English and to enforce the practice by example and authority. Through his great abilities, strength of character, and indomitable energy, he rapidly attained such a commanding position in the English Church that, although never its titular head, he was recognized as its virtual leader. He was a scholar of unexampled range, a clear and independent thinker of daring originality. Indeed, for the times, he was a religious liberal,[13] a "prophet and harbinger of better days coming,"[14] and was recognized as a pioneer in the humanistic and scientific movement of his day.

Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, outstanding churchman, as a loyal Englishman defending the right of the English churches to be officered by Englishmen, dared to oppose and to defeat the attempts of Pope Innocent IV to foist Italian officials[15] on the English establishment. This courageous display of English independence against the Pope made such a lasting impression on the popular imagination that more than three centuries later its still living echo perhaps reverberates in Shakespeare, when King John is made to proclaim:

> *. . . no Italian priest*
> *Shall tithe or toll in our dominions.*

When he thought the financial exactions of Rome excessive, he again dared to fight for justice for his Church and boldly called the demands of the Pope usury worse than that of the Jews. Admitting as a faithful son of the Church that the Pope could do no wrong, he justified his opposition on the ground that if the Pope did do wrong, he was obviously not acting as Pope. Tradition tells us that when the death of King Con-

rad of Sicily followed that of Grosseteste the Pope exclaimed that he had now lost his two worst enemies.[16]

But he braved the King as well as the Pope. Acting as a loyal son of the Church, he on more than one occasion defeated the efforts of Henry III to encroach upon ecclesiastical prerogatives and revenues.

His literary activity was prodigious. The catalogue of his writings covers twenty-four large pages, 267–291, of Pegge's biography. Pegge says that he was thought to be "the most voluminous writer of any Englishman, at least he wrote more tracts, and on a greater variety of subjects than anyone."[17]

He translated into Latin for the first time the "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs" which, although spurious, produced in England through the prestige of his sponsorship a great sensation at the time. Ultimately some thirty English translations of it appeared.[18]

Matthew Paris says that the translation of the "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs" was undertaken by Grosseteste as a missionary tract for the Jews, "*ad majorem Judaeorum confusionem.*"[19]

An enthusiastic fourteenth-century admirer of his theological learning declared that to compare Grosseteste to any later teacher is like comparing the sun in his splendor to the moon under eclipse.[20] Three hundred years later the tradition of his learning was still vivid enough to make the reference to him in these couplets in Butler's *Hudibras* describing a learned conjuror still hit the mark:

He had been long t'wards Mathematicks,
Opticks, Philosophy, and Staticks,
Majick, Horoscopy, Astrology,
And was old Dog at Physiology.

* * *

Whate'er he labour'd to appear,
His Understanding still was clear,
Yet none a deeper Knowledge boasted
Since old Hodge Bacon, and Bob Grosted.

He was present at Runnymede when the Magna Charta was signed. Ever afterwards he was a jealous guardian of the rights thereby secured for the people. Although the chronicler, Matthew Paris, intimates that Grosseteste was on the King's side,[21] yet he later shows that the Bishop not only joined with the ecclesiastics in a general order to excommunicate violators of the Charter, but that in his own diocese he specifically promulgated and enforced a like decree. As a liberal, Grosseteste continued to play an important part in the political and constitutional developments of his day and was often the spokesman of the Constitutional Party in Parliament. In 1244 he was one of the committee of twelve chosen from the members of Parliament to draw up articles to regulate the conduct of the King and to force him to appoint responsible ministers. Matthew Paris describes how Grosseteste through his courageous speech and action was the determining influence which achieved this important victory, a great constitutional landmark.[22]

But it is not as a churchman or as a politician, but as a scholar, that Grosseteste's fame survives. He was a scholar of such wide attainment and an author so prolific that his impress was indelibly stamped on English thought and literature for more than two centuries. Few books on the period can be found which do not contain some quotation from Lincolniensis, "The Great Clerk Grotest."[23] In his own day Roger Bacon wrote: "Few have attained to consummate wisdom in the perfection of philosophy: Solomon attained to it, and Aristotle in relation to his

times, and in a later age Avicenna, and in our own days the recently deceased Robert, Bishop of Lincoln."[24]

Born in Stradbroke, Suffolk, in 1175, Grosseteste studied at Oxford, where he became "*Magister*" in 1199. He then studied at Paris and returned to teach at Oxford, where he was appointed the first Chancellor, "*Rector Scholarum.*"[25] He was soon recognized as one of its leading scholars, "the ornament of the Universitie," "the onely scholar of his age."[26]

He undoubtedly was one of the earliest Hebrew scholars in England,[27] and he is reputed to be the first English scholar who knew both Greek and Hebrew.[28] "There is more than a suggestion that Grosseteste inspired, and was associated in, the Hebrew scholarship of two famed Hebraists of the Thirteenth Century—William of Arundel and William de Mara."[29] He was one of the pioneer Aristotelians in England.[30] "Throughout his eventful episcopate," says Lyte in his *History of Oxford*, "he exercised wise and fatherly vigilance over the University, striving to guard it alike from external attacks and from internal dissensions. To him, if to any one man, is due the marked progress which it made in the first half of the thirteenth century."[31]

He translated from the French into English Walter of Henley's "Treatise on Husbandry" and himself wrote in French a work, "Les Reules Seynt Roberd," on the management of an estate. Most of his writings were in Latin. Although his literary activity was largely what we might call professional,—sermons, religious discussions, letters and directions to his priests, and advice and instructions to the clergy,—it was not wholly confined to such things, but embraced in its wide range poetry, mathematics, natural science, philosophy, education, politics, and horticulture.

DOMUS CONVERSORUM

III

IT is not hard to surmise when Grosseteste first became interested in the Jews. The Oxford of his day was not only an important fortress, but one of the foremost centers of trade and wealth. Its Jewry was considerable, carried on an extensive domestic and foreign trade, and was not without learned scholars. Tradition affirms that Grosseteste studied Hebrew with one of the Oxford rabbis.[32] It is not unlikely that he again came into contact with the Jews when, after his Oxford period, he studied in Paris.[33]

His biographer Stevenson[34] suggests that his interest in the Jews may have been awakened even before his Oxford days. After the coronation of Richard I in 1190 there was a serious massacre of the Jews at Bury St. Edmunds, which naturally excited widespread attention in the near-by Suffolk towns. An impressionable youth of Grosseteste's age would certainly have been interested in the fantastic country gossip about these strange folk and in the tales of their terrible fate. There is nothing, however, on which to base this supposition except the nearness of his birthplace to Bury St. Edmunds.

As early as 1221 the Dominicans planned the establishment of a "*Domus Conversorum*"[35] for the reception of converts in the heart of the Oxford Jewry.[36] They began to build it in 1231, on the site now occupied by the Oxford town hall, but it was not formally opened until 1233.[37] Luard says that the establishment of this house for the Jews directed Grosseteste's thoughts to their condition and their proper treatment by Christians.[38] Be that as it may, it is evident that the question of the status of the Jews had a special fascination for Grosseteste. He felt that their condition was discreditable to the nation. The earliest

documentary evidence of his Jewish interests now extant is his letter, dated 1231, on the subject of the Jews addressed to Margaret de Quinci, widow of the Count of Winchester.

There was at the time a general movement on the part of the great overlords to rid their estates of the Jews and thus to force them into the newly proposed Homes for Converts where they might the more easily be converted to Christianity both by priestly persuasion and by industrial pressure. Incidentally many an impoverished lord liquidated his liabilities out of the Jews' property, which he had seized as an adjunct of these pious efforts. "In order that they [the Jews] might no longer oppress the Christians who resided there unmercifully with usury," the great Simon of Montfort, extensive landowner, overlord of the town of Leicester where many of them had long been settled, expelled them from his domain. The Countess of Winchester, aunt of Simon of Montfort, conceived the plan of offering them shelter on her estate. Evidently having some qualms of conscience about the matter, she appealed to Grosseteste for guidance. A translation of his letter to her follows:[39]

To the noble lady, most dear in Christ, Lady Margaret, de Quinci, Countess of Winchester, Robert, Archdeacon of Leicester, offers greeting together with an assurance of his affection and readiness to serve her in any way.

I GIVE you loving thanks for your lavish generosity which has aided me with very many favors, and not only that, but has abundantly overwhelmed me with succeeding greater kindnesses. But though favors require no recompense, for the reason that if they are acts of kindness they are conferred without expectation of any return; yet a man is ungrateful who, being able, does not return a kindness. With the desire, therefore, to

requite in some small measure, at least, your many great kind actions, I have found no greater service within my power than a salutary and necessary reminder of the need of deserving and obtaining everlasting life. Besides, a double opportunity has been offered me of presenting in my letter to Your Excellency something in the way of a salutary reminder. For word has come to me that Your Excellency has arranged to gather together on your domain the Jews whom Lord Leicester expelled from his town to prevent their further pitiless and usurious oppressing the Christians dwelling there.

If you so arrange, [I pray you] give careful attention to the manner in which the Christian lords are to settle them and guard them. Being guilty of murder, in cruelly killing by crucifixion the Savior of the world, our Lord Jesus Christ, lest they might through his preaching [the gospel of] salvation lose standing and caste, because of this sin they did lose their standing unhappily at the hands of Titus and Vespasian, and having themselves entered into captivity, were scattered as captives through all lands and peoples, and they shall not be restored to freedom until the very end of the world. But in the last days, when all the multitude of nations, as is written, shall enter, i.e. to faith, then all Israel, namely the people of the Jews, shall attain salvation through the same belief in Christ, and shall come again out of captivity into freedom. In the meantime, however, while the same people of the Jews persisting in their unbelief blaspheme Christ the Savior of the world, and mock at his suffering, they will be held captive under the rulers of the world to the just punishment of their sin. And it is the duty of the lords who hold them captive to protect them from being killed, and at the same time to use the severest measures to prevent them

Acts II, 23

St. John XI, 48

Rom. XI 25, 26

from oppressing Christians by [the practice of] usury; and to see that they may [have opportunity to] gain their livelihood by lawful work of their hands. This, moreover, is the end of the captivity of the Jews; and yet in numerous places in Scripture it is prophesied that they shall not perish in this captivity. In regard to Cain, who stands as a type of the Jews, when he had murdered his brother, who stands as a type of Christ, who was slain by the Jews for the safety of the world, it is said:

"And now shalt thou be cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth and received thy brother's blood from thy hand; when thou tillest her she shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be upon the earth. And Cain said unto the Lord, 'My punishment is greater than I can bear. Behold, thou drivest me out this day from thy face, and from thy face shall I be hid; and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth; and it shall come to pass, that every one that findeth me shall slay me.' And the Lord said unto him, 'By no means shall this be, but therefore, whosoever slayeth Cain, shall be punished sevenfold.' And the Lord set a mark upon Cain, so that any that might find him should not kill him."

Gen. IV, 11

Therefore according to this proclamation of the Lord a curse rests upon that people so long as they persist in unbelief and blasphemy: [and] not only the curse of sin, but also the curse of punishment; and it is the infliction of a just punishment that that people labor hard at tilling the earth, and yet, although the earth produce abundantly from the labors of that people, it bears its crops not for that people, but for the lords under whom they are held captive. That people is vagabond because of the dispersal, and a fugitive from its own home, namely Jerusalem, vagabond because of the uncertainty of a fixed resi-

dence, and fugitive because of the fear of death. Yet they have the proclamation of the Lord [forbidding] that they be slain, and also the command in the Psalm; for concerning them it is written: "God has given a sign to me in the midst of my enemies, slay them not, lest my people forget," which is to be taken as referring to the Jews, according to St. Augustine, who adds the reason why they are not to be killed, namely, because "They hold our codexes from which come the prophecy and the promise of [the coming of] Christ." And in this way they are witnesses of the Christian faith against the unbelief of the Pagans. And besides, as was indicated above, at the end they shall turn to Christ, for "Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved." Therefore to the mercy of God, to the glory of the Christians, the Jews owe the fact that they are not slain, and to the justice of God that they are scattered among the different nations as vagabonds and fugitives, and are held captive under the rulers, and till the earth laboriously, to the profit of the overlords, and to the indifferent maintenance of their unhappy lives. And so the Jews are not to be indulged by Christian rulers so that they may oppress Christians with usury, and from that usury live in luxury and leisure, for they have been appointed by the word of the Lord to the penalty of hard work. For it is the duty of a Christian ruler to use his power to rescue Christians from oppression by unbelievers; to respect the word of the Lord in regard to the punishment inflicted on the Jews and not to weaken it by exalting them. For in regard to them the Psalm says: "Scatter them by thy power, and bring them down, O Lord, my shield." "Bring down," he says, because of the humiliation of the punishment, not "exalt"

Ps. LVIII 12

S. Aug. in Ps. LVIII § 22, *Opp.* IV, *p.* 568

Rom. IX 27

Ps. LVIII, 12

68629

through accumulation of usury. Therefore be it known to the rulers who treat them too kindly or favor their usurious practices upon Christians that they stand guilty of the sin of the Jews, and thus will be sharers in their punishment. For just as
Rom. I 32 says St. Paul: "Not only those who do such things but those who consent thereto deserve death." And, according to the words of all holy expounders, those are considered to consent who having the power to prevent [the practice] yet do not prevent it. Rulers also who receive a part of the usury which Jews have extorted from Christians live by robbery, and mercilessly eat, drink and wear the blood of those whom it is their duty to protect, and from these as the prophet says:
Isa. I 15 "When they spread forth their hands to him the Lord will hide his eyes, yea, though they make many prayers, he will not hear them; for their hands are full of blood, and their
Isa. IX 5 garments rolled in blood, but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire." Do not therefore, my most dear lady, [allow yourself to] be defiled by accusations of similar things because of some connivance on your part, and so to be visited with similar punishments by the severe application of the law.

The second occurrence which also furnishes a topic for my letter, is that one of your bailiffs, as many have told me, in the parish of my prebend, has forbidden any of your men, under severe penalty, to buy any of the tithes of those living in the said parish. Now if anyone does this he has offended in no slight degree the laws not only of man but of God. For he has taken from me the intercourse of buying and selling, which laws both divine and human not only grant but even protect. Not only the native-born take delight in this benefit of human association and this comfort in their need; but even the foreign-born, serving men and maids in time of peace and of war. In oppo-

sition to all laws he has made himself judge over me though no one should take "this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God." For all power is from God, as saith the Apostle. Without summoning me, without a conviction, without a plea of guilty he condemned me to a penalty [applied to] abandoned criminals. And by his order, too, he tried to bring it about that my parishioners should not duly pay their tithes, in this matter impiously raising his head against God, who specifically commands the payment of tithes. Therefore inasmuch as that [contemptible] reviler of such a God's commands, arrogant scorner of church and prelates, is known to be one of your people, on account of the respect due to your position I have wished to call this matter to your attention, before dealing with the man himself according to what is due to my position. On the other hand, if he is at pains to give heed to your command, I shall gratefully acquiesce. It does not suit the respect due to your sacred widowhood, when you by fasting, prayer and almsgiving, as did "Anna, a prophetess, daughter of Phanuel," day and night submit yourself to the [will of the] Lord, and devotedly worship the Holy Mother Church, and obediently receive and reverently honor the prelates of the church, to indulge agents who give orders contrary to [those of] the Lord, who dishonor the Mother Church and scorn her prelates; lest the non-suppression of a fault of subordinates by fitting severity may be adjudged to you as a sin; and a cloud, exhaling from their foul wantonness, may dim the light of good works which radiates from your devotion. Let not, I pray, your more gracious humility scorn this admonition, for I have been impelled to write it by that "charity [which] suffereth long and is kind—is not puffed

Heb. V 4

Rom. XIII 1

Mal. III 10

St. Luke II, 36

I *Cor.* XIII 4, 5

up, [nor] easily provoked." Fare ye well in the Lord, my dearest lady.[40]

To-day the sentiments of this letter sound archaic and harsh. It is to be remembered, however, that it dates from early feudal days, when English society was built on a social order from which the Jew was an offensive outcast. The anomalous position of the mediaeval Jews is difficult to conceive. "Nature herself offers no quainter spectacle than the efforts of the feudal organism to adapt itself to the Jewish intruder. Into a society that was bound together by a system of oaths, in which the oath of fealty strung men upon a chain like beads, came an important group of men incapable of taking Christian oaths: to find a place for this new category strained feudal sublety to the uttermost. It was left to the royal ingenuity to decide what nature of 'peace' the law would extend to these anomalous persons. The Jews have been called royal villians, but more apt perhaps it would be to describe them as men 'ferae naturae,' protected by a quasi-forest law. Like the roe and deer they form an order apart, are the king's property, and, though protected by him against others, nothing save the uncertain royal prudence protected them from their protector."[41]

To this description it should be added that, unlike most lords of the chase, the King protected his Jews so much less strictly than most game was preserved from the poacher that they generally were exposed to many a casual hunter who wanted to take a pot shot.

On the other hand, as the following quotation shows, the letter reflects the official attitude of the Church towards the Jew, a position formulated before Grosseteste's days, and reasserted during his lifetime by Pope Innocent III in 1199:

The Decretals of Gregory IX, Book V, Title VI, concerning Jews, Saracens, and Their Servants, Chapter IX.

Jews are not to be baptized against their will, nor compelled to receive baptism, nor are they to be punished without a trial, or deprived of their property, or molested in their festivities, nor are their cemeteries to be violated or their bodies dug up.

Clement III.

Just as the Jews ought not without permission to go beyond what is permitted them by law in their synagogues, so in the things that are permitted them they must suffer no prejudice. Therefore, although they may prefer to remain in the hardness of their hearts rather than understand the words of their own Prophets and the mysteries of their own Scriptures, and secure a knowledge of the Christian faith and salvation, nevertheless since they demand our protection and assistance, we out of a sense of Christian mercy and piety, following in the footsteps of our predecessors of happy memory, the Roman Pontiffs, Calixtus, Eugene, and Alexander, receive their petitions and extend over them the shield of our protection. For we decree that no Christian shall force any Jews to come to baptism against their will or reluctantly. But if any one shall betake himself to the Christians for the sake of the faith, after his intention shall have become clearly evident, he may be made a Christian without suspicion of his integrity. For a man is not considered to have the faith of Christ who has approached baptism not of his own accord, but forced to do so against his will. Also let no Christian presume without the judgment of the secular power to slay any of them or to wound them or to deprive them of their money, or to infringe upon the legitimate customs that

they thus far enjoy (in whatever lands they may inhabit); especially in the celebration of their festivals let no one whatsoever in any way molest them with stones or clubs. Nor shall any one demand from them forced service, except what they themselves have in times past been accustomed to render. In addition, wishing to frustrate the wickedness and cupidity of evil men, we decree that no one shall dare to intrude upon the cemeteries of the Jews or damage them or for the sake of money to dig up the buried bodies. And if any one (which may God avert) shall dare to go against the tenor of this decree, let him suffer the loss of his dignity and office or be punished by the sentence of excommunication, unless he shall have made amends for his presumption by due satisfaction.[42]

Grosseteste stresses the point that, according to Scripture, the Jews were preserved as the unconscious testimony to the truth of Christianity so that in the end they might be converted to the true faith. He then repeats the condemnation by his Church of the prevailing political view that the Jews were to be maltreated or exterminated as a means of forcible conversion. He lays it down that the punishment which the Almighty had ordained that the Jews suffer should neither be increased nor diminished by Christians, and recognizes that the Jews should be afforded an opportunity to gain a livelihood by honest work. There is the usual warning against the sin so tempting to princes, ostensibly zealous in a good cause, of managing by oppression to harvest for themselves the profits from the Jews' usury.

Perhaps there is nothing highly original in the sentiments that the letter expresses in respect to the Jews, but in terms of thirteenth-century thought and standards it does represent a humane and charitable point of view on the part of the church-

man that is in marked contrast with the opinions generally entertained by his contemporaries.[43]

It was in 1231, too, the same year that the *Domus Conversorum* was started, that Grosseteste wrote his great contribution on the Jews, "*De Cessatione Legalium.*" By many it has been regarded as his capital performance. Of it Stevenson says:

"The primary object of the work is evidently to supply, in a connected and closely reasoned form, materials and arguments which may be used in controversy with the Jews for the purpose of bringing about their conversion to Christianity, and is intended to refute the notion of the permanence of the Mosaic law, as well as to embrace and to explain the various points of difference between the old dispensation and the new. It might be described as a thirteenth-century epistle to the Hebrews."[44]

Its method is to state the Jewish arguments for the ancient law, and then in the fairest manner to answer each contention with the utmost good temper and moderation. A telling effect of fairness, logic, and candor is thus produced that is decidedly in contrast with the usual mediaeval theological polemics.

The treatise evidently had a wide circulation and did much to form English opinion. It appears that many contemporary manuscript copies were made, of which several are known to be extant. Most of them, however, are imperfect, and many are only fragmentary.

The manuscript which I own is one of the few perfect copies which have been preserved. At one time it was owned by Grosseteste's biographer, Pegge, who in 1793 wrote of it:

"This MS which once belonged to Peter le Neve Norroy;[45] and afterwards to Mr. Thomas Martin at whose sale I bought it, terminates the first part at the end of eleven leaves (the whole

consisting of thirty) with the words '*Et hic terminum hujus particulae* (as Mr. Brown has it and not *Tractatus*, as the printed book) *statuamus.*'"[46]

During the three following centuries "*De Cessatione Legalium*" continued to influence English opinion. Stevenson writes:

"It appears to have inspired the treatise by John Bacon Thrope and also the one ascribed in error to Wycliffe, which bears the same title; and among those who in later age derived most benefit from its perusal must be cited Selden, and also Sir John Eliot, the resolute friend of freedom in the reign of Charles I."[47]

In spite of its popularity, the treatise was never printed. Stevenson cites an edition printed at Lyons in 1652 under the title "*Liber de Cessatione Legalium*,"[48] but no copy has been found, and I venture the suggestion that this is one of those "bibliographical ghosts" which so frequently appear to disturb the soul of a conscientious investigator. Six years later (1658), however, when, during the Puritan ascendency, interest in the Jews was again revived in England, an abridgment of the work was issued in London. On the title-page of that edition the work is termed "*nostro aevo apprime utilis et necessarius*" and in the preface it is said that it was printed from a manuscript belonging to Selden at the behest, and perhaps at the expense, of Sir Mathew Hale, Justice of the Common Pleas, the great defender of religious liberty and tolerance. The body of the text is preceded by an introduction, "*Lectori*," of twenty-two pages, in which the anonymous editor justifies the publication, notwithstanding that the spirit of the times was such that "the name of the Bishop is held in disgust; people think Italy is to be exterminated because the Pope rules there, and the river Tiber is scarcely pardoned because it passes by Rome."[49] This introduction is followed by twenty-two pages more, "*De Roberto*

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ

ROBERTI GROSTEST

Epiſcopi

LINCOLNIENSIS

DE

Ceſſatione Legalium,

Tractatus Eruditiſsimus,

Priſcam, ſolidam, & Germanam pietatem ſpirans; noſtroque Ævo apprime utilis ac neceſſarius.

Ex vetuſtis membranis ſumma cura & fide deſcriptus.

LONDINI,

Typis *Thomæ Roycroft*, Proſtat autem venale apud *Joan. Martin*, *Ja. Alleſtrye*, & *Tho. Dicas*, ſub ſigno Campanæ in Cœmeterio D. Pauli, 1658.

Grostest Testimonia," gathered from many sources, which describe and praise Grosseteste's many activities and widespread learning.

Grosseteste again came into direct contact with the Jews in 1244 when the Oxford students invaded the Jewry and sacked the Jews' dwellings. Forty-five clerks were imprisoned for this offense. Grosseteste intervened and on his initiative the King released the students into his custody. As a direct outcome of the incident he obtained from the King that royal charter which established in the Chancellor of Oxford exclusive jurisdiction over all clerical causes in Oxford and vicinity respecting loans to scholars and suits concerning their debts, rents, and other such matters.

While Grosseteste was Bishop of Lincoln there was settled in the town one of the largest and most prosperous communities of Jews. The records are silent as to any direct connection between him and these Jews during this period, but the fact is significant that, whereas, on the whole, the Lincoln Jews were unmolested while he lived, only a few months after his death there began that attack on them which ended in the complete extermination of the community.

In time Grosseteste became a friend of Simon of Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and exerted a considerable moderating influence on that great leader. It is said that throughout Grosseteste's life the Earl turned to him for advice and consolation, and even sent his sons to him to be educated.[50]

It is not difficult to trace the restraining influence that Grosseteste exercised on Simon of Montfort in behalf of the Jews. The 1231 decree of banishment from Leicester was not vigorously enforced, and, moreover, it is said that "Simon de Montfort acted leniently towards the Jews all the days that Robert

Grosseteste, the Bishop of Lincoln, lived. But after the death of Grosseteste in the year 1253, he immediately walked again in the sins of his youth. Grosseteste's breath was hardly out of his body when Simon de Montfort issued a charter for the final and perpetual banishment of the Jews from the town of Leicester."[51]

As has already been pointed out, Grosseteste had a long and intimate association with the Franciscans who, when they first settled in England in 1224, had their headquarters at Oxford.[52] After his death there occurred two great and far-reaching incidents of Anglo-Jewish history in which the Franciscans played a prominent part which reflected Grosseteste's influence, and which may well stand as memorials of his attitude towards the Jews. The first is the stand taken by the Franciscans in behalf of the Jews of Lincoln, and the second is their rescue of the Jewish Hebrew books when the Jews were banished from England in 1290 by Edward I.

In 1255 mob violence, plunder, and persecution were unleashed in the prosperous Jewish community of Lincoln, the hysterical result of a ritual murder accusation. Ninety-two Jews were brought to the Tower of London. Of these, eighteen refused to submit themselves to trial before a jury of Christians from which Jews were excluded and were immediately executed. Terrorized by this act of barbarism, the remaining seventy-four agreed to submit their case to a Lincoln jury.[53] But while they were awaiting trial the Franciscans intervened and obtained their release. The prosecution was dropped.

Matthew Paris tells of the incident in his unfriendly way: "Influenced by bribes, the Franciscans interceded for these Jews and by their prayers released them from prison and saved them from the death they had deserved, but I think we ought in

propriety to believe that they were influenced by the spirit of piety."[54]

When Grosseteste died in 1253 he left by a will drawn two years previously his beloved books to the Franciscans of Oxford, to be there "reposited for the common use of the covent."[55] Among them, as we are told by Twyne, were his "Hebrew authors."[56] Anthony à Wood adds, "What the particular number of them were I cannot justly say, yet wee cannot to the contrary think but that they amounted to a great many, considering the books which he himselfe wrote, for the most part with his owne hand, were nigh the number of 200, a legacy (if those wer all) sufficient to furnish an ordinary library in those dayes."[57] The library was early famous for "those raritye out of other nations which to England were then strangers, viz. Greek, Hebrew and mathematick authours." Wood then tells us that "these Fryers afterwards obtained many Hebrew books of the Jewes when they left England, as is partly apparent from certaine scripts."[58]

It is difficult to appreciate the effect of Grosseteste's attitude towards the Jews unless we realize the position he held and the influence he exerted on English thought. The historian Stubbs describes him as "the most learned, the most acute, the most holy man of his time, the most devoted to his spiritual work, the most trusted teacher and confidant of princes," and adds that he "was at the same time a most faithful servant of the Roman Church."[59] And his contemporary, Matthew Paris, wrote of Grosseteste's death:

"So the saintly Robert II, bishop of Lincoln, passed away from the exile of this world, which he never loved, at this manor of Buckden, on the night of S. Denis's day; he had been an open rebuker of Pope and King, the corrector of bishops, the

reformer of monks, the instructor of the clergy, the support of scholars, the preacher of the people, the persecutor of the incontinent, a careful reader of the Scriptures, the hammer of the Romans whom he despised. At the table of bodily food he was liberal, plentiful, courteous, cheerful, affable; at the table of spiritual food devout, tearful, penitent; as a prelate sedulous, venerable, indefatigable."[60]

Stevenson has described Grosseteste's achievements as having a threefold aspect, first, as a reformer who contributed to the great religious revival of the thirteenth century, second, as the teacher who guided the rising fortunes of the University of Oxford, and third, as the statesman who endeavored to combine into one united effort the struggle of the clergy for the liberty of the Church and the struggle of the laity for the liberties of the nation.[61] Along with all these great achievements is the memorable fact that his is the earliest extant English expression of sympathetic understanding of the anomalous and unhappy condition of the mediaeval Jew.

Finis

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Notes

1. Robert de Brunne, Prologue to *Manuel des Péchés* (1303). T. Wharton, *History of English Poetry*, London, 1824, Vol. I, p. 64. S. Pegge, *Life of Grosseteste*, London, 1793, p. 362.

2. Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich* (A. Jessopp and M. R. James eds.), Cambridge, 1896.

3. Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, Vol. II, Part 8, §95 (Niese ed.).

4. Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, p. 62.

5. Continental imitations also quickly followed—Orleans and Blois, each in 1171, Paris, in 1179. The learned editors of *The Life and Miracles of St. William* quote an authority enumerating 52 instances of such ritual murders before 1650, while the *Jewish Encyclopedia* lists 121 such blood accusations before 1900. Finally the number of such local boy saints became such a scandal that after 1750 the Popes Clement XIII and Clement XIV disclaimed official Catholic sanction for the blood accusation. *Die päpstlichen Bullen über die Blutbeschuldigung*, Munich, 1900. H. L. Strack, *The Jew and Human Sacrifice*, New York (n.d.). *Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, preface. D. Chwolson, *Die Blutanklage und sonstige mittelalterliche Beschuldigungen der Juden*, Frankfurt, 1901. *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York, 1903, Vol. III, "Blood Accusation."

6. Thomas de Eccleston, *Liber de Adventu Minorum in Angliam*, London, 1858 (Brewer ed.), p. 37.

7. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (H. R. Luard ed.), Rolls Series, London, 1872–83, Vol. V, pp. 324–326. (Hereafter cited as Paris.)

8. Robert Grosseteste's rule for hospitality: Number XV, "commaunde ye the officers that they admitte youre knowlechyd men, familiers frendys, and strangers, with mery chere, the wiche they knowen you to wille for to admitte and receyne, and to them the whiche wylle you worschipe, and they wyllen to do that ye wille to do, that they may know them selfe to have be welcome to you, and to be welle plesyd that they be come." From the Household Statutes of Robert Grosseteste, from Sloane MS. about 1450–60. Early English Text Soc. (F. J. Furnivall ed.), *The Babees' Book*, London, 1868, Vol. 32, p. 330.

9. Robert de Brunne, Prologue to *Manuel des Péchés* (1303).

10. Pegge, pp. 213, 214. Giraldus Cambrensis Appendix VII (Dimock ed.), p. 206.

11. Paris, Vol. III, p. 389.

12. "The Bishop wld sometimes say to him that unless his brethren fostered their studies and gave themselves diligently to the learning of the divine law, it would most assuredly happen to us as it had happened to other religious whom we see (oh, the misery of it) walking in the darkness of ignorance." Eccleston, p. 64.

13. Cannon Perry (*Life and Times of Grosseteste*, London, 1871) from the aggressive Protestant viewpoint hails Grosseteste "as a harbinger of the Reformation" who, "had his life been a few years prolonged, it might be easily believed . . . would have been the leader in a general rejection by England of the preposterous claims of Rome." On the other hand Monsignor W. Croke Robinson (*Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, Catholic Truth Society, London, 1896), describing Grosseteste as "our most holy and zealous and unmistakably Catholic Bishop," views him as an aggressive churchman, impetuous and lacking tact but theologically and ecclesiastically sound.

But we have contemporaneous tradition to substantiate Grosseteste's position as a religious liberal in a famous description of the Franciscan schools at Oxford:

"Their Schooles ('Scholae'). As for the first schools or place of auditory that these brethren had, was made in their first habitation by the aforesaid Fryer Agnell: for so saith Eccleston thus—'fecit Frater Agnellus scholam satis honestam aedificari in loco Fratrum.'

"Which being fitted for use, he humbly desired Mr. Robert Grosseteste or Capito that he would be pleased to read there. Which office he accepting, continued there some yeares with a great concours of people continually attending him to the great comfort of the said Agnell. And indeed to speak the truth, Grossetest being then a Doctor and the ornament of the Universitie, condescended (as 'twas thought) verie low, to be subordinate to the desire of Agnell who was but then a deacon and of little or noe litterature; but a stranger he was and carried authority with him for what he did, which was the reason he had so great respect from the King and Universitie.

"And though he never smelt of an academy or scarse tasted of humane learning, yet he constrained these his brethren to the studying and reading of the decretalls. For 'tis reported of him that on a certaine day he being willing to understand what progress his scholars made in literature, entred this schoole and hearing them disputing eagerly and making quaeries 'whether there was a God' (a hint of which they had taken from Grossetest's lectures) cried out with a loud voice 'Hei mihi! Hei mihi! Fratres! Simplices coelos penetrant, et literati disputant utrum sit Deus!' Which words being spoken after an angry way, flung himselfe on a suddaine out of the schoole, and taking it greviously, repenting withall that he had erected this schoole

wherin were discussed such vain and frivoulous arguments, sent 10 marks sterling to the court of Rome to have the decretalls corrected that so his said scolars should apply themselves to the study of and search in them, by laying aside their sophismes, much admired & followed in those dayes.

"The said Grossetest, the onely scholar of his age, leaving the lecture, by whose reading and assistance an inexistimable increase in preaching and disputing did accrue to the Brethren; one (fol. 157a) Mr. Peter did verie accurately performe that office." Anthony à Wood, *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford* (Clark ed.), London, Vol. II, p. 362.

14. W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, Oxford, 1874–8, Vol. II, p. 72.

15. "In our own time his fame has rested chiefly on a single letter resisting an appointment to a canonry at Lincoln attempted to be made by the Pope; and his character has suffered or gained from this in the estimation of many moderns, according as their feelings have led them to consider that everything that the Pope did must of necessity, or could not by any possibility, be right." H. R. Luard, *Epistolae*, London, 1861, p. 22.

16. Paris, Vol. V, p. 460.

17. Pegge, p. 263.

18. As early as 1716 an edition of this work was published in America at Charlestown, Mass., by T. Fleet and T. Crump for Eleazar Phillips, where it was described as "Translated out of Greek into Latin by Robert Grosthead, sometime Bishop of Lincoln and out of his copy into French and Dutch by others and now Englished." A second edition appeared in 1720 in Boston "reprinted by T. Fleet for S. Phillips" and others.

19. Paris, Vol. IV, p. 233.

20. *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* (W. W. Shirley ed.), London, 1858, p. 135.

21. Paris, Vol. II, p. 590; Vol. V, pp. 375, 378, 395.

22. Paris, Vol. IV, pp. 362, 366 et seq.

23. Luard, *Epistolae*, p. ix.

24. Bacon, *Opus Tertium* (J. S. Brewer ed.), London, 1859, p. 70.

25. Francis S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, London, 1899, pp. 24, 25.

26. H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *History of Oxford*, London, 1886, p. 29.

27. In a presidential address before the Jewish Historical Society of England Dr. A. S. Hirsch described an ancient Hebrew Bible and a literal translation of the whole of the Bible made directly from the original, both from the thirteenth century and now preserved at Oxford. He says: "The whole of

this Bible, or, at least, parts thereof, must have been in the possession of Robert Grosseteste, for the copy of a Psalter of his, which really contained three or four different copies of the Psalms conjointly, was quoted by the Franciscan Henry of Costessy (*Psalterium domini Lincolniensis ubi 3 vel 4 simul coniunctim psalteria continentur*). Henry of Costessy wrote about 1336 an exposition of the Psalms (*Expositio super Psalmos*), the probably unique copy of which is preserved at Cambridge (Christ College, F. 1, 17)."

He adds further that it is known that Grosseteste possessed a copy of the text of the Psalms in Hebrew with an interlinear translation. He concludes that the impetus which Grosseteste gave to the young savants of his time to study Hebrew must have been enormous. *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England,* Vol. VII, pp. 8, 10. See also ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 95.

28. "With the exception of John of Salisbury it is almost impossible to name any Englishman of the twelfth century who was acquainted with that language." Stevenson, p. 21.

29. J. C. Russell, *The Preferments and "Adiutores" of Robert Grosseteste.* The *Harvard Theological Review,* July–October, 1933, p. 172.

30. Adam Marsh writes that he had Aristotle's *Ethics* transcribed. Adae de Marisco, *Epistolae,* London, 1858, p. 114. Hanrean, II, p. 175.

31. H. C. M. Lyte, p. 38.

32. D'Blossiero, *Tovey Anglia Judaica,* Oxford, 1738, pp. 244 et seq.

33. Stevenson, pp. 15 et seq: "Whilst he was at Paris he kept making further advances in the Hebrew and Greek languages." Pegge, pp. 14, 15, citing Anthony à Wood, *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford,* p. 82: "That he prosecuted the study of the Hebrew and Greek tongues at Paris, we are (not only) expressly told."

34. Stevenson, p. 97.

35. "History of the Domus Conversorum," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England,* Vol. IV, p. 16, narrates the founding of the home in London in 1232 when Henry III issued an order to the effect that he desired "for the health of his own soul and for the souls of his ancestors and heirs, to the honor of God and of the glorious Virgin, to found a Home for destitute Jews converted to Christianity."

See also: *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England,* Vol. I, p. 15; Vol. IV, p. 5; and A. M. Hymanson, *A History of the Jews in England,* London, 1908, Chapter XIV.

36. A. M. Hymanson, *A History of the Jews in England.* Anthony à Wood, *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford* (Clark ed.), Vol. II, p. 494. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 153.

37. Paris, Vol. III, p. 393.

38. Luard, *Epistolae*, p. 35.

39. Luard, *Epistolae*, Letter V, p. 33.

40. In this letter the citations of Scripture have been retained as they appear in Luard.

41. M. Bateson, *Mediaeval England*, New York, 1904, p. 139.

42. Decretals, *de Judaeis, Sarracenis et eorum Servis*, Lib. V, Tit. VI, 9: "The delicate balance of the official ecclesiastical policy was seldom, however, appreciated by secular rulers, who generally carried it to what appeared to be its logical conclusion in one direction or the other." *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, London, 1932, Vol. VII, p. 634.

43. Almost twenty years later, 1249, the Duchess of Brabant (Comitisse Flandrie) appealed to St. Thomas Aquinas for advice as to dealings with Jews. In his reply (*De Regimine Judaeorum ad Ducissam Brabantiae, S. Thomas Aquinatis Opusculum* XVII (ed. Paris 1889), Vol. XXVII, p. 413) the same point of view and sentiments are so strikingly repeated that one is almost tempted to believe that Grosseteste's earlier letter to the Countess of Winchester was known to St. Thomas Aquinas until he recalls that both are only repetitions of the authoritative Church pronouncements on the Jews.

44. Stevenson, pp. 104–105.

45. Peter Le Neve (1661–1729). Norroy King-at-arms (1704–29), a famous collector of manuscripts, was a Serjeant-at-Law and the president of the Antiquarian Society of Norfolk, F.R.S., Rouge Croix Pursuivant, and a Richmond Herald.

46. Pegge, p. 269. It was also number 6907 in the famous Phillips collection of manuscripts, at the auction of which it was described as a "small folio MS on vellum 30 leaves, written in an English current or charter hand, in double columns; in a seventeenth-century calf binding about 1310." "A noted work on the Old and the New Law, by that famous Bishop of Lincoln who maintained the rights of the English Church against the pretensions of Rome, in Henry III's time."

47. Stevenson, p. 105.

48. Stevenson, p. 104 note 4.

49. "Episcopi nomen, per saecula augustum, ipsique religioni. Christianae coaevum, jampridem sorduit; quicquid Romanum est, etiam ipsa lingua Romana, superstitionis damnatur; eo usque, ut non desint nonnulli adeo suis furiis agitati ut Italiam fere ipsam exterminandam putent, quia Pape subsit, et vix ami Tiberi ignoscant, quia Roman praeterfluat." Edition of 1658, p. 5.

50. Luard, *Epistolae*, LXXXV et seq. Stevenson, pp. 272–275. Paris, Vol. IV, pp. 415, 416.

51. Rev. S. Levy, "Notes on Leicester, Jewry," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, Vol. V, p. 39.

52. Anthony à Wood, referring to the Franciscan schools, says: "Wee read that after the first erection of this place Robert Grosstest or Grouthead that was afterwards bishop of Lyncoln and in his time one of the greatest witts of our nation, did (to honour this covent), at the intreaty of Agnellus, read in person himselfe." *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford* (Clark ed.), Vol. II, p. 398.

53. Joseph Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals and Other Essays*, New York, 1896, pp. 192 et seq.

54. Paris, Vol. V, p. 546.

55. John of Tynmouth, *Historia Aurea*, Anglia Sacra, London, Vol. I, p. 347.

56. B. Twyne, MSS., Vol. XXI, p. 587; Vol. XXIV, p. 25, cited from *Survey of Oxford*, Vol. II, p. 405 note 4.

57. Anthony à Wood, *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford* (Clark ed.), Vol. II, pp. 403–406.

58. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 380.

59. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, Vol. II, p. 72.

60. Paris, Vol. V, pp. 406–407.

61. Stevenson, p. 337.

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